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Governance and Factions--Who Decides Who Decides?
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In several projects, the Center is studying the question: who will decide which factions will be represented in the decision-making process. In the Campus Governance Project investigating the nature of governance, over 3,000 questionnaires were administered and 900 intensive interviews conducted at 19 institutions. The questionnaire was designed to identify problems of governance and determine which individuals were considered knowledgeable and influential in dealing with them and how they became so. It was generally found that today's governance is more complex, more involved with negotiated exchange among many internal and external factions than before. Presidents retain accountability for all that happens on their campus though their ability to control it has declined. Patterns are hard to change because: most academicians believe that practices adopted by other institutions are inappropriate to their own; most change occurs by accretion; self-interest rather than concern for the institution dominates decision making. Major sources of friction are the budget and distribution of information regarding it, delegation of authority, and the method of announcing decisions (particularly bad news). Extreme resentment was expressed against state education departments, presidents and deans of students. Among a number of suggestions for improving governance, the most widely adopted is that of a campuswide governing body composed of representatives from all factions. Despite complaints, however, changes might provoke even greater dissatisfaction. (JS)

Green and Charles Frankel in *Current Issues in Higher Education 1968* to be aware of the enormous influence emanating from this supersystem and encompassing our colleges and universities—and in turn their subsystems, including curricular plans and instructional strategies.

BRINGING ON THE RAIN

When practitioners join together to reform an element in the curriculum or in instructional practice, they are becoming involved—to a greater or lesser extent—with a whole complex of things, with an entire galaxy of overlapping spheres, with the whole System. It is evident that the more they know about how the System "works," the more intelligent their reform will be—and the greater the chances will be for its success

It is the researcher's responsibility to study various aspects of the System and to analyze how they "work." In this way he can be of the greatest help to the practitioner. But the researcher's experience has often been frustrating: he uncovers one layer only to find a hundred other layers; he tries to sift out one question and discovers that he cannot separate it from twenty others. And while the researcher digs away as systematically as he can, the practitioner becomes impatient. His problems cannot wait.

Perhaps this interim report on one project at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education will help explain to the practitioner why it takes so long. At the same time, however, he must surely know that the researcher on curriculum cannot—and does not wish to—close his eyes to the urgency of student unrest. If it is true that student unrest is, among other things, a symptom of curricular-instructional failure, then reform in that subsystem is badly needed—and it is needed now. But obviously we must know as much as we can about how it "works." We need to see the connections more clearly than we see them now. It will do no good i
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Governance and Factions—Who Decides Who Decides?

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The title of this article is meant to describe a major dimension of campus goverance in a time when there is no longer general acceptance of the legitimacy of established authority. Governance structures which have long been hidden from scrutiny are now being made explicit, and the exposure is not always kind. Institutional loyalty seems to be of low importance, and governance by the accommodation of factions is the order of the day. Competitive factionalism is taking its toll in early presidential retirements and resignations, in a high number of administrative vacancies, and in the goals of academic people who once might have found the thought of moving into administration desirable. The problem is that most of these factions disagree over who is to be ...luded in campus decision making. And the question beyond the problem is: Who is going to make decisions about which factions will be represented in the decision-making process?

This question is being studied in several research projects at the Center. This report is a preliminary review of the Campus Governance Project, undertaken by the American Association for Higher Education under the sponsorship of the Kettering Foundation, which has been investigating the ways in which institutions of higher education govern themselves. Nineteen typical campuses have been selected for study in this project, and more than 3,000 questionnaires and more than 900 intensive interviews from the 19 campuses are now in the final phases of analysis. It is now possible to present some general impressions about campus governance which have resulted from work in the project.

The basic question underlying the study is: What is the nature of governance? Is it organization charts? Is it committees? Or is it protests? Or decision making? The thesis of the study, of course, is that governance is many things—informal channels as well as formal channels, reason as well as emotion, individuals as well as groups, persuasion as well as power, decisions made as well as decisions avoided. Governance deals with the *problems perceived* by those who have some connection with the campus. The questionnaire used in the study was designed to identify these problems and to determine which individuals are considered to be knowledgeable and influential in dealing with them. The object

of the interviews was to find out how these individuals go about the work of being knowledgeable or influential in dealing with the problems.

Generally, we have found much support for the thesis that today's governance is more complex, more involved with negotiated exchange between many internal and external factions, than it once was. There still remains a residual effect from the older hierarchical system, however, in that presidents have retained their accountability for everything that happens on their campuses even though, in general, their ability to control what happens has declined. Faculty, on the other hand, have increased their power enormously but have not yet become entirely accountable for their actions, and presidents thus often find themselves publicly defending decisions which they have not made.

Administrators, in turn, often feel that board members lack understanding of the problems of academic administration. Many board members have a tendency to interpret campus problems in terms of their own business enterprises, which are usually much more hierarchical in structure. As a consequence, the academic administrator often appears weak to the board, most of whose members have not had direct experience with academic governance. And in the student sphere, student government presidents are being chastized by their peers for being the pawns of the administration and playing "sandbox government."

In fact, most of those involved in campus governance seem to feel caught in the middle, unable to act freely, hemmed in by other individuals and outworn procedures and "arrangements of convenience." But if one suggests to faculty or students that they give up this petty, mundane, unrewarding activity and let others do it, the response is loudly and vehemently negative. The factions persist, and the dissension continues. For although most people appear to dislike governance, they all seem to feel that they are the only people who are qualified to undertake it.

WHY ARE GOVERANCE PATTERNS SO DIFFICULT TO CHANGE?

There are certain commonalities which contribute to the amazing solidity of governance structures. One major cause of this solidity might be termed "the myth of uniqueness." An astonishingly large number of people believe that their own institution's past, present, and future involve unique persons and events and that, consequently, changes which have been instituted on other campuses could not and should not be adopted on their own. We have found examples of institutions which exist in the same community within several miles of each other, which enroll similar types of students, which have nearly identical curricula and catalogue rhetoric, which even draw faculty from the same graduate schools—but which studiously ignore each other's existence. Although the reader may find such a statement difficult to believe, it is a reasonable assumption that the same kind of insularity exists on his own campus.

A second reason why it is so difficult to plan for institutional change is that most change occurs by accretion. The units of change are so small as to escape notice until the full event bursts into public view. For example, an institution probably would not set up a department of psycholinguistics with one swift stroke. A more likely series of events, occurring over a matter of years, would be: a change in the wording of a course description would emphasize the course's psycholinguistics aspect; the course would be retitled; a research assistant might begin to do some supervised work in the area because he was "interested" in it; a faculty member might take some advisees in psycholinguistics, after which his appointment listing in the catalogue might be changed to emphasize his work in psycholinguistics; a second part-time research assistant would be added; etc. Perhaps five years after the first changing of the wording in the course description the dean or department chairman would be presented with a request for a new department of psycholinguistics—which is already in existence in every sense except the name.

A third factor which contributes to the solidity of governance structures concerns the inability of many of those involved to give up self-interest and to try to decide matters from the perspective of the entire institution. The zero-sum game ("I win, you lose") is played far more often than the collaborative game ("By working together, we can all win and nobody will lose"). The strength of this kind of self-interest can be seen in TABLE I, which shows the responses of students, faculty, administrators, and department chairman to the resource needs on their campuses.

Although administrators appear, in TABLE I, to be the least self-interested of the campus groups—their first three concerns are faculty office space, student parking, and faculty and staff parking—it should not be assumed that they are inherently more broad-minded than the other groups. For they are placed, in the course of almost every day, in accountable positions in dealing with the needs of a wide range of campus interests. As for the other groups, TABLE I makes their self-interest evident.

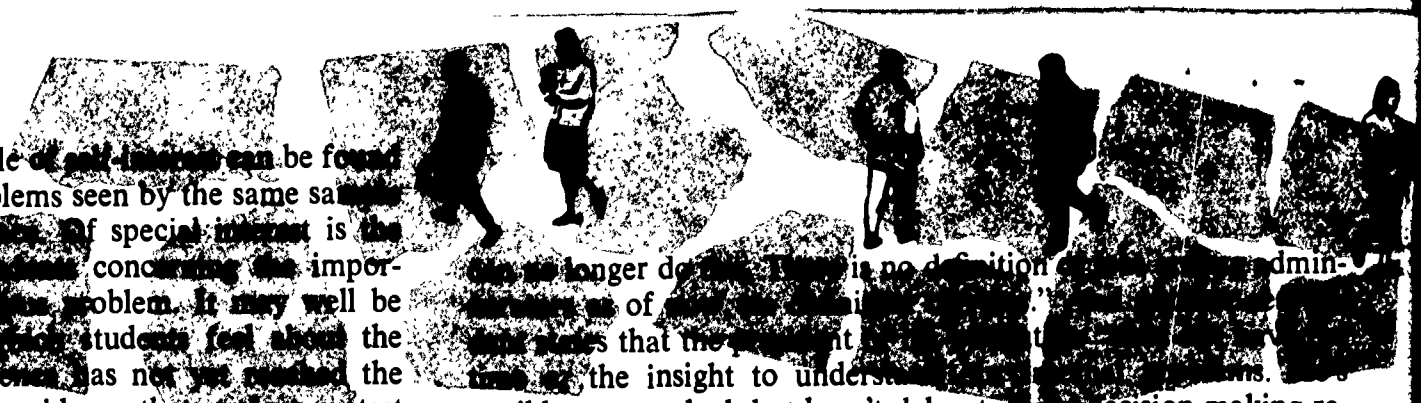
Table I—IMPORTANCE OF COLLEGE RESOURCES
(By rank order of campus groups)

	Students n = 1394	Faculty n = 1232	Administration n = 357	Department Chairmen n = 206
Student parking	1 (62%)*	4	2	3
Space and equipment for individual research	2	5	5	2
Faculty office space	3	1 (41%)*	1 (56%)*	1 (57%)*
Special equipment	4	8	11	7
Phone service	5	8	11	6
Science laboratory	6	10	12	8
Language teaching facilities	7	12	13	10
Faculty and staff parking	8	3	3	4
Financial support/instruction	9	6	7	4
Computer	10	10	8	8
Duplicating services	11	7	10	8
Audio-visual equipment	12	9	9	9
Administration office space	13	11	4	5
Sabbatical leave	14	2	6	3

*indicates highest percentage checking items
In cases where percentage is constant, rank order remains constant also

Table II—IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATIONAL QUALITIES
(By rank order of campus groups)

	Students	Faculty	Administration	Department Chairmen
Teaching ability	1	7	7	6
Class size	2	1	3	2
Class schedule and teaching load	3	2	1	1
Requirements for degree	4	7	9	5
Adequacy of counselling	5	3	2	4
Teaching methods	6	5	5	7
Availability of counselling	7	6	4	8
Respect of faculty and administration for students	8	7	8	9
Liberal vs. professional-education	9	4	6	3
Requirements for major	10	8	10	10



An even more spectacular example of [illegible] can be found in TABLE II, which ranks the problems seen by the same sa[illegible] in the area of educational exper[illegible]. Of special interest is the difference between faculty and [illegible] concerning the importance of teaching ability as a c[illegible] problem. It may well be that a great deal of resentmen[illegible] students feel about the quality of their educational experience has not yet reached the surface, but there is already ample evidence that student protest over curriculum inflexibility and lack of student participation in academic policy making is on the increase.

Those institutions which are now establishing campus-wide governing bodies with student, faculty, administration, and sometimes board representation (a popular notion nowadays) should consider the necessity of somehow broadening the perspectives of those who will participate. Decision-making bodies must take into account factors and issues which are institutionally important even if they are not important to the specific factions represented.

SOURCES OF FRICTION

Our data indicate that one of the major sources of friction at most institutions of higher learning is the budget and how information regarding it is distributed. Because information about the total budget is in most situations restricted, many faculty members feel (often with some justification) that the institution's business manager or bursar is making decisions about academic policy. And since department chairmen and deans of schools have only their budget allocations in mind when they go to the central administration to argue for more funds for their units, and do not know what total funds are available or what requests have been made by other departments or schools, they are in no position to argue the matter when the business manager or bursar announces flatly that "We cannot afford it." Possibly as a consequence, many faculty members, especially, feel that there seems to be more money available for conservative programs than for more experimental ones.

Also, the president's heavy responsibility for the acquisition of funds may make him dependent on the business manager or bursar, who alone may know the intricate procedures for the disbursement of funds. Any person with specialized knowledge not shared by others—a bursar, a registrar, even a secretary with a filing system nobody else understands—can acquire more influence than his title suggests.

The presidents of some institutions, whether deliberately or not, seem to encourage this kind of aggressive competition between deans and department chairmen for scarce and unknown resources. One of our respondents has reported: "The pattern is for individuals to go to the president and negotiate. There is no discipline within the departments or divisions because of these personal and private alliances with the president. . . . Rugged individualism prevails." And another respondent from another campus has stated: "There's no structure to get things done, so you go around it. It's a lawless place. Those who don't learn to get around it resent it."

Why do some presidents allow this rampant free enterprise spirit to continue? A third respondent from yet another campus has answered the question in this way: "The tendency to build empires is encouraged by central administration because if a guy is willing to fight for his program he must really believe in it." But those presidents who reward the aggressive money seeker and ignore the quiet appeal often find that dissension becomes rampant as well. Their institutions begin to show large disparities in quality that are based on the relative aggressiveness of their chairmen. Such inequities in fund allocation make balanced progress toward *institutional* goals difficult if not impossible.

Another source of tension at many institutions concerns the delegation of authority. On a number of campuses which have experienced rapid growth, the delegation of authority has not increased as size has increased, and on these campuses our interviews consistently reveal the same view. One respondent has said: "The president has been here a long time. He shouldered all responsibility through the years, but the school has grown and he [illegible] longer do[illegible]. There is no definition [illegible] admin[illegible] as of [illegible]." [illegible] states that the [illegible] t[illegible] time or the insight to under[illegible]s. terribly overworked, but hasn't delegated any decision-making responsibility at all."

On other campuses, where growth has produced dispersion of decision making, the response is quite different. From one of these campuses, a respondent has reported: "I almost feel that the university has grown up; decision making is now discussed by groups rather than by one or two men. There are now open communications." And the president of this particular institution was apparently serious when he said: "I try to get rid of every job I can."

But there are also some presidents who delegate tasks rather than authority. This situation often puts subordinates in a very difficult position, for any ques[illegible].g of the subordinates' decisions makes it clear that the [illegible]sident is still in control. In this situation it is logical for people to "go around end"—go directly to the president instead of to the individual or group which has the task without the authority. The way a president handles this delicate matter is often crucial.

Although some institutions' administrators want this kind of direct communication of feelings and problems, there are other institutions in which anyone who talks about problems is considered disloyal. One respondent has reported that at his campus "there is an unspoken agreement that one does not challenge decisions; therefore there is little evidence of problems." And another: "Hiding problems is the favorite way of handling them here. Things are so vague and unstructured and fluid that nobody can say what the problems are now." And many faculty respondents have spoken out strongly of the need for a more active and supportive administration, as in this instance: "The administrative structure will let you go on—you have the authority to make decisions. But if you need their help, they aren't there. We don't have an administration; we have a non-administration. This university has rules and regulations in lieu of administration. The president listens only to the deans, and the deans listen only to their department chairmen. Other people with workable ideas are seldom heard."

Interviewers were often surprised at the emotion with which some respondents discussed these issues. It was clear that many of them had previously had almost no opportunity to express how they really felt. Although we found some institutions with *effective* communication networks, we found none with good *affective* networks in which feelings and attitudes could be expressed in the right place at the right time—and with the necessary information. As a result, the emotional attitudes we encountered were often based on misinformation and ignorance.

As an example, much resentment against state education departments was expressed. The charge was frequently made that "Planning is too centralized. . . . Too many decisions are being made in [the state capital] by individuals who cannot be identified." Investigation, however, showed that the president of the institution was usually very much aware of who the proper authorities in the state offices were, but he chose to keep this information from others on the campus. One reason for this type of behavior on the part of the president may be shifting accountability. Rather than take the blame himself for the decisions made, he can find a scapegoat in "those boys in the statehouse." We found the same technique used by faculty and some student leaders.

Still another source of tension at many institutions stems from the way decisions, particularly "bad news" decisions, are announced. Quite often the person responsible for making such a decision—say, the decision not to retain a certain faculty or staff member—does not want, for some reason or other, to tell the person who is most directly affected. The burden then falls to a second party, a person who is not directly responsible for the

decision. In some instances, the responsibility falls to the president. As one president has reported: "On decisions to release a person, I take the dirty work. I never let the person know that the department head was the one who thought he ought not be retained." But in other instances, the roles are reversed, and one respondent has stated that the president at his institution "is incapable of firing anyone. Someone must do it for him." Respondents from some institutions felt that more administrative power in this matter was badly needed. As one of them has said: "What the faculty wants is a provost who can fire a dean." Thus it cannot be said that a permissive administration is what is "best" as a governance model.

But whatever the situation, it is obvious that very little attention is ever given to the impact of the "bad news" that a person has been judged incompetent—be he a student who has flunked out of school and receives a mimeographed notice in the mail, or a faculty member who has been denied tenure because his associates feel that "He's a good teacher but just doesn't seem to fit in somehow," or a dean who simply no longer has the support of the faculty. And in situations where *nobody* has the courage to deliver the "bad news" and the person in question is consequently allowed to remain, the unhappy result is that we create deadwood on our campuses. It is also quite possible that we may fire slightly incompetent but agreeable persons, who will accept dismissal with a minimum of bad feeling, while we retain thoroughly incompetent and disagreeable persons because we cannot face the unpleasantness which we fear will ensue.

A source of friction on almost any campus, it would appear, is a particularly visible administrative office, and sometimes the man who occupies that office. The most likely object of criticism, in most cases, is the president of the institution. But although presidents are frequently under attack, beneath the criticism of their actions often lies grudging respect either for the man or for his office. This ambiguity of feeling has been summed up by one respondent who commented about his president: "It he were only evil, then I could hate him with a clear conscience!"

It is not only presidents, however, who have come under attack from our respondents. One of the most revealing aspects of the data collected from our interviews is the quantity and fervor of criticism of deans of students. The volume of this criticism equals or exceeds that directed against the presidents. It comes from faculty, students, and other administrators, and contains examples of criticism of the office as well as the performance of the individual:

> The dean of students is too involved with students. We need a high-level man.
>
> Student personnel people are not allowed to participate in policymaking.
>
> The president has encouraged students to deal directly with the central administration but leaves the dean of students out of the decisions.
>
> I give responsibility to *academic* people. The dean of students is not competent. I don't rely much on student professionals.
>
> I don't tell the dean of students everything I know . . . he gets too excited.

One possible explanation for this criticism is that deans of students do not fit neatly into established campus administrative structure. They possess relatively little administrative power (in initiating, facilitating, or blocking policy moves), and they often have practically no impact on final decision making. In short, they belong neither to the faculty nor to the administrative power hierarchy. (There are many advantages to this marginal position.)

But in our search for an explanation for this criticism we have concluded that the dean of students and his staff very likely represent a threat to many faculty members. They know that students can talk freely and frankly to the dean of students and members of his staff, especially about weaknesses in the academic program, in a way that they cannot usually use with faculty, who control their destiny. And more, some faculty members feel that counseling is really a faculty responsibility, and they see the role of the dean of students as an intrusion into their own area of concern. To the faculty member, then, and to some administrators as well, perhaps, the dean of students office, simply by its existence, represents a professional insult, suggesting to faculty and administration that they have defaulted their responsibilities for students.

It does seem unfortunate that at a time when more bridges urgently need to be built across the chasm separating adult and student cultures there are still so many people, supposedly concerned with this separation, who are willing to tear down the bridges which already exist.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

A number of suggestions for improving campus governance exist in the current literature. Perhaps the most widely adopted suggestion is that of a campuswide governing body composed of representatives from all factions. According to this plan, each representative speaks out for his faction as in a "junior town meeting." The idea is based on the ideal of decentralization.

The difficulty with this suggestion is that it has at its base the concept of representative government at a time when there seems to be a decline in belief in the idea, both on and off the campus. Members of a faction often refuse to be "represented" by another member. One often hears such statements as, "Yes, it's good to have a campuswide senate, and I'm glad I voted for Joe, but let me make it clear that Joe does not speak for me." It seems to matter not whether Joe has been elected by the students, the faculty, the administration, or the trustees—Joe often ends up representing only himself.

Another suggestion, which has been advocated by many university presidents, is that campus administrators ought to be given more power than they now possess—not less. In the views of many students and faculty members, however, this suggestion is interpreted to favor an increase in the coercive and restrictive powers of an already-too-powerful administration.

A third and perhaps more radical suggestion stems from the idea that in a time of rapid change the standing committee is obsolete. According to this suggestion, decisions should be made on a non-representative, *ad hoc* basis by all of those concerned over any particular issue. The argument against the suggestion is that our institutions are far too large to allow such a system to work. There is little doubt, however, that we possess the technology necessary to make direct participation in governance of all concerned people a reality, if we wished to bring it about. The "electronic town meeting" is just around the corner, if we can learn how to use it.

These are some of the suggestions. Will we make use of any of them? In the end it may well be that although there is much talk about change what we are really after is keeping the situation as it is. We enjoy complaining about our less-than-perfect institutions, and we might find just as much to complain about if they did change. This paradox of loyalty to what is and what might be was aptly expressed by a graduate to a former president of Bennington College. The student may have been speaking for all of us when she said, "Keep it experimental, but don't change a thing."

HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

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Dr. Lyman Glenny Named Associate Director of Center

Center director Leland L. Medsker has announced the appointment of Dr. Lyman A. Glenny as associate director of the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education. Dr. Glenny will assume his new duties at the Berkeley campus, where he will also serve as professor of education, on January 1, 1969.

Dr. Glenny's association with the Center dates from its beginnings in 1956 when he served as consultant for the Carnegie Research Project on Higher Education at the University of California and assisted in organizing the Center for the Study of Higher Education which later became the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education. In 1954 and 1955, he also served as special consultant and assistant to T. R. McConnell on the *Restudy of Needs of California in Higher Education.*

Dr. Glenny comes to the Center from his post as executive director of the Illinois Board of Higher Education. He is co-author of the Illinois Master Plan for Higher Education, which was adopted in 1965, and he brings to the Center broad experience in the field of educational planning at state and federal levels. His research in this field will continue at the Center where he will conduct studies on planning and coordination. He has served as consultant to commissions on higher education in more than a dozen states and to President Eisenhower's Committee on Government and Higher Education, and he has been a member of advisory committees for the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the American Council on Education, and the Council of State Governments. He is particularly known for his book, *The Autonomy of Public Colleges: The Challenge of Coordination.*

Dr. Glenny received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Iowa in 1950. That same year he joined the faculty at Sacramento State College, where he was professor of government at the time of his appointment to the Illinois board in 1962.

Dr. Medsker has said of Dr. Glenny's appointment as associate director of the Center: "Dr. Glenny will bring to the Center a rich background in higher education. For the last several years he has served the State of Illinois with distinction and through his efforts in planning and coordination has helped to create one of the outstanding systems of higher education in the nation. In his new post at the Center he will be primarily responsible for program planning and development. It is most fortunate that Dr. Glenny has consented to move to Berkeley, not only because of the significance of his appointment to the Center, but also because he will teach and advise doctoral candidates in the Divison of Higher Education, replacing T. R. McConnell who retired from that position in June, 1968."

The Research Reporter

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FROM THE EDITOR

This issue of the *Research Reporter* is one of a series reporting on the activities of the Center. The *Reporter* is written primarily for those who are directly concerned with the practice of higher education. Our goal is to report the results of research and study in higher education, focusing upon the implications for educational practice. We might suggest to keep your pencil on the ongoing studies, the completion of research projects, and the publications issued from the Center.

The *Research Reporter* will in each subject change to those who ask to be placed on the mailing list. We welcome your comments and reactions.

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